

## WE VOW

We vow, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, our beloved Leader, that we will never fail in constant and unceasing cult of the rich treasury of thoughts, you have bequeathed to Indian revolution !

We vow, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, our Great Teacher that we will hold aloft the glorious banner of revolution you have handed down to us !

We vow, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, our Great Guide that like 'one man', we will defend, protect and further advance our Party, the noblest of your creations, to ever more and more of victories !

We vow, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, our Great Teacher that we will guard like the apple of an eye, the Collective Leadership and Proletarian Democracy in our Party that you taught us how to defend. We assure you Comrade, we will pass this test with credit and fulfil your behest !

We vow, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, our Great Guide that we will ever be steadfast as you taught us to be, in our uncompromising battles against revisionism-reformism and all varieties of social-democratism in order to constantly uphold the Base Political Line of the proletariat which is anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution in our country and develop to that end, the political power of the toiling masses. We assure you Comrade, that we will never be failing in our duties to defend the revolutionary kernel of Marxism as is your behest.

We vow, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, our Great Leader that we will ever be engaged in more and more identifying ourselves with Party and Revolution, in order to be the invincible and decisive force in the complex battles for the emancipation of our society from all sorts of exploitation of man by man. We assure you Comrade that we will win this supreme test with honour as you wanted of us !

We vow, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, our Great Teacher that while engaged in revolutionary works and activities we will always and continuously uplift our revolutionary morals and ethical standards which you taught us to do, in order to keep us in constant readiness to face any test, however hard. We who have the proud privilege to be your disciples, assure you Comrade that we will not be failing in fulfilling this behest of you, too !

We vow, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, our Great Guide that guided by your integrated and Great Teachings about Fascism which has appeared as the universal feature in all the developed and underdeveloped capitalist countries at this post-war period of World Capitalism, we will never be unremitting in our fierce and all-round battles against Fascism, the worst menace to civilisation. We assure Comrade, we will stand the test also with credit as you wanted of us !

We vow, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the Great and Outstanding Marxist Thinker and Philosopher of the Age, our most Beloved Leader, Teacher and Guide that as taught by you, we will ever be guided by your revolutionary teachings about proletarian internationalism and shall always remain allegiant and loyal to the Class and World Revolution as a part of the revolutionary detachment of the International Proletariat.



"Simply to speak of revolution is no revolutionary consciousness. So again, to speak for the working class, for the proletariat—this too is no proletarian class consciousness. The correct revolutionary consciousness is the correct proletarian class consciousness and correct proletarian class consciousness is the correct proletarian party consciousness."

—SHIBDAS GHOSH

# Proletarian Era

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## RED SALUTE COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

People have seen leaders to appear—they appeared in the past and will appear in future, but such a giant leader does so rarely appear in history. Giant in every respect—giant in not only intellectual height combining all the greatness inherited from the great teachers of the proletariat like Marx, Lenin and others with fineness and excellence further developed and brought to a new height—and above everything, giant in character. He was a leader, whose every breath of life was for revolution, every bit of whose life was the living embodiment of high revolutionary morals and ethics which he taught others to follow in life. His name and revolution became one and the same. He was a revolutionary in whom people have tasted what a revolutionary is and what the noble ideology of communism stands for. He was great because not the slightest trace of falsehood was in and around him and it is falsehood between the preachings and practice which he despised most and always asked the people to despise and reject. That is why, in him was so much trust and confidence of the toiling people.

The toiling people of India lost such a trusted, beloved and giant leader **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** on 5th August last. 5th of August 1976 has been marked in the history of the revolutionary working class struggle not only of our country but of the entire world as well, as a day of profound loss and grief. But our beloved departed leader, teacher, guide **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** taught us—"..... Mere expression of grief, mere emotional outburst carries no meaning to the revolutionaries if they do not realise the real significance of the cause of grief that has pained them so much and what it really demands of them to perform in their life. Remember, even when a man is deeply shocked to find something grievously harmful in the society, its real meaning comes to his realisation only when from this he can find the way out—how to free the society from its evil effect, for that what is he to do and realising this he never neglects his duties".

Being guided by this great lesson and taught by **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** the Central Committee of our Party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India immediately after HIS sudden and premature demise while paying homage in memory of the great departed leader said :—

"At this hour of great loss we must turn our grief, as taught by HIM, into firm determination, courage and revolutionary purposiveness. We take vow to stand as "one Man" and strive hard to fill the void created. He is and shall ever remain very much with us through HIS teachings. HIS name and teachings will endure as the living source of inspiration and beacon light to legions of revolutionaries who will fulfil the behest **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** has left to us. Let all of us, thousands of disciples and admirers of **Comrade Ghosh** hold aloft the banner of revolution and proletarian internationalism by every drop of our blood".

It is on this day that all of us, thousands of disciples and admirers of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** should come forward to refresh our pledge to fulfil the behest he has left behind. On us devolves the responsibility of showing to our countrymen how **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, realising the need of Indian revolution marked by the absence of any genuine working class party, took upon himself the historic task of building a revolutionary party of the proletariat with which the question of emancipation of the people from all sorts of exploitation was inseparably linked up and how in the process of building up of the Party **Comrade Ghosh** historically emerged as the great leader of the toiling millions.

In our country, it is only our Party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India that has, to its credit, the inexhaustible fountain-source of the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism covering all aspects of life concretised, developed, enriched, elaborated and personified through no less a person than **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, whose entire life was dedicated to the cause of emancipation

of the proletariat, has, with the vast knowledge and experience accumulated through his life—long struggle, created the real revolutionary party of the proletariat, the SUCI, an indispensable instrument for revolution, and a model leadership comprised of a band of professional revolutionaries competent enough to lead the revolution.

How can we forget, that it was the clear and unmistakable vision of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** that alone threw light and pointed out that in the present day world, in the third phase of intense general crisis of capitalism fascism may manifest itself in diverse forms—and that too both in advanced as well as in underdeveloped capitalist countries—not only through outright rejection and destruction of Parliamentary form, but even under the cover of Parliamentary set up, not excluding the so-called seemingly democratic form of two-party system. History has testified it.

Basing on this searching analysis illumined by the profound wisdom of the great departed leader **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the Central Committee of our Party gave timely alarm about the danger of imminent emergence of two-Party Parliamentary system in our country which came true through a bourgeois alternative coming to power at the Centre. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** is really very much with us and leading the Party through his teachings !

His ceaseless fight against economism, opportunism and diverse varieties of social democratism that have permeated through and through the working class movement, gave a correct and new direction to the working class struggles of our country.

The Central Committee of our Party in line with his great teachings has kept the flag flying not relaxing for a moment, intense ideological political battle against the pseudo-Marxists, who are Marxist in name but social-democratic in character. Guided by his great teachings, the Central Committee of our Party, while exposing their utterly revisionist-reformist role and character, whether they are in opposition or in government, has been leading the exploited masses of our country through hard and painstaking battles for the establishment of genuine revolutionary leadership in the mass movement. The voice of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** that "Police shall not interfere in the legitimate democratic mass movement", "Whatever is legal may not be always justified and moral." and ".....everything illegal in the eye of the law is not necessarily unjustified, illegitimate and immoral" which he raised in 1967 in a similar context in West Bengal still rings in the ears and shall guide our people. His name and teachings are acting as the great source of inspiration and providing the searching eye to see through the naked servility to the ruling class by the so-called 'forces of salvation' of the people. Gaining more and more from experience even in the context of changed political situation of the country, common people in larger numbers are coming out to grasp the truth that it is only the SUCI—founded by **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat and led by the leaders who, as taught by him, have been able to identify themselves more and more with the Party and the cause of revolution—on which they can pin their faith and which alone serves as the ray of hope for their emancipation.

So it is only through the constant cult of the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great revolutionary leader of the proletariat, and by making SUCI strong enough to lead the revolutionary struggles, that the Indian proletariat can achieve its emancipation from all sorts of exploitation.

Let all of us take this call and carry this message to the people ; let all of us take firm resolve to build up political power of the people ; let all of us subject ourselves to the test of scrutiny, individually and collectively, in our constant endeavour and struggle to be worthy disciple of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** ; let all of us fulfil his behest and keep his flag flying. It is the only correct way to pay our deepest revolutionary tribute to this great leader of the proletariat. It is the only correct way to observe 5th August—"the **Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day**" in a most befitting and solemn manner.

Long Live **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**  
Long Live Revolution  
Long Live SUCI

# Remembering Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

## Revisionism-Reformism Main Danger before the Mass Movement

What are the problems confronting the present-day mass movement in our country? I am not one of those who usually accuse our people for their so-called inertia, lacking in the spirit of struggle, sacrifice and dedication. Because, I hold, there have been many mass struggles and movements in our country, in the past, and surely there will be outbreaks of mass struggles and movements in the future, too. People have participated in the mass struggles and movements of the past, in thousands, in lakhs—have shown their courage, their spirit of sacrifice and dedication, have given their blood and life. Pressed by the capitalist oppressions, they did not hesitate to plunge in mass struggles under whatsoever leadership but what have been the net results?.....

It always happened in the past that the people while participating in the movement did not think and care about what should have been the correct line, correct approach and correct ideology in order to achieve their goal. Neither there had been any attempt on the part of the political parties providing leadership over such movements to make them conscious of it and build up revolutionary organisations—the political power of the people.....

These parties moving with the sole desire and objective of gaining governmental power through bourgeois parliamentary politics and election, were only interested in developing agitational forms of struggle, at times militant even, but confined within the narrow bounds of economism-reformism and capitalised those in their accession to governmental 'gaddi' in bringing changes only in the cabinets. The leaders of these parties have only one concern, only one aspiration how—to be ministers or, how to be, a 'big boss' in bourgeois parliamentary politics notwithstanding their various pretensions and almost ritualistic homilies to people's cause.

Precisely because of this, all the mass movements and struggles in the past, inspite of heavy losses and sacrifices incurred by the people were

of no avail from the point of view of the advancement of the revolutionary struggles of the masses for their emancipation. Rather, all these struggles were subsequently followed by a period of overall frustration of the masses and disarray in the leftist and revolutionary ranks. It is the ruling bourgeoisie, who taking advantage of this situation every time consolidated their unabated rule of exploitation and oppression and strengthened capitalism.

Therefore, since independence, the mass struggles and mass movements inspite of taking some times militant forms always remained confined within the orbit of economism and reformism. These movements, so long, could not develop revolutionary consciousness in the truest sense of the term and for that completely failed to build up revolutionary organisations of the toiling masses and give birth to political power of the people.....

Now the pertinent question is what is the correct revolutionary politics and the political aim of all these mass struggles? Many will at once say—'revolution', 'end of exploitation' etc. without explaining what do all these mean concretely and how to achieve that. Therefore, these expressions are all absolutely vague in nature. More over there is always a tendency to confuse any

militant form of struggle with a revolutionary one. One should not forget that if a movement on some economic and democratic demands is conducted even in a most militant way and if we simply use certain terms and phrases like 'revolution', 'Marxism-Leninism' etc. in it—that does not *ipso facto* make a movement revolutionary. Then what is the difference between revolutionary movement and a reformist movement led by the social-democrats and the pseudo-revolutionaries? Does not at times, even reformist movements led by the social-democrats become militant? Who does not know that the movement for distribution of land among landless and poor peasants and movement for enactment of legislation in favour of it are essentially reformist movement within the span of parliamentary politics? This is an elementary knowledge that these are not revolutionary movements for seizure of power though some times fought in a militant way.

In Italy, for example, at one time, peasants fought with arms for distribution of land and land reforms. As because they used arms in the struggle for land distribution, that itself could not transform the movement into a revolutionary struggle for seizure of power. It essentially remained a reformist movement inspite of the fact that they fought with arms.

...Therefore to transform a democratic movement into a revolutionary one is not so simple, so easy a matter....(But) if the struggles of the masses launched on various economic and other democratic demands are not properly correlated with revolutionary aims and objectives then the struggles are sure to be confined within the limits and bounds of economism and reformism and ultimately end in fiasco.

...(So) before launching a struggle and even during the struggle no serious political worker can undermine the importance of such vital questions rela-

ting to ideology, base political line and the question of establishing leadership of a genuine revolutionary party by taking a casual and callous attitude....

In order to understand these questions we must understand first of all two things. First, if we want to bring about a fundamental change in our socio-economic and political system then we will have to determine *what is the fundamental and basic character of the present socio-economic and political system and how shall we change it? And what do we want to establish in its place? What is the main hurdle in the way of changing the present social system? If it is the state machine then what is the character of the state? Which class or classes are to be overthrown by which class or classes?*

And secondly, on the basis of correct analysis of the above questions and getting a correct answer to those questions we will have to adopt the correct strategic line and tactics of revolution in order to lead the united mass struggles to their revolutionary political goal.

If we fail to understand and even if we underrate the importance of these two fundamental things then all the future struggles also will end in fiasco. We shall be going on fighting on various economic and democratic demands endlessly and obviously there will be many sacrifices and heavy losses but never these struggles will be able to reach their revolutionary political goal by coming out from the vicious circle of economism and reformism.....

Now, let us examine what are the main problems confronting our life and society....I want to draw your attention to the basic question only....There are two basic problems facing our life and economy. These are modernisation and mechanisation of our agriculture and paving the way for uninterrupted industrial development of our economy and thereby solving unemployment problem thoroughly.

Industrial development of our country is staggering and halting again and again. Our industrial economy is facing recessions one after another, and although under-developed, it has already become a crisis-ridden economy. Indian agricultural economy, in the main, is being confined in small peasant economy. Here, modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture could not be done. But who can deny that for transforming our country from a backward to an advanced one and for the solution of the food problems, for the regular and sufficient supply of raw materials for industrial development, modernisation and mechanisation of our agriculture is an indispensable necessity. The continuous upliftment of the standard of life of vast majority of our rural population, freeing them from the existing half-fed, half-clad barbaric and uncivilised sub-human condition of life largely depends on achieving these tasks....

(But) .... if the agrarian programmes of all these parties, starting from the Congress to the SP, CPI, CPI(M)—both the rightist and leftist parties barring only the SUCI—are carefully and critically examined, it will be very much clear to anyone that except differences in terminology and style of expressions all these programmes are aiming at keeping agricultural economy arrested or confined, in the main, in small-peasant economy. The main and sole programme of agrarian reform, be it 'agrarian revolution' in some one's terminology, is the distribution of land to the agricultural labourers and the landless and poor peasants. And someone has gone a step further in raising demand for fair wages for agricultural labourers. But all of them, in tune with the ruling bourgeois class are against modernisation and mechanisation of our agriculture—some of them openly preaching and advocating Japanese way

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# Teachings of Comrade SHIBDAS GHOSH

## On Communist Culture

We know that today, it is Marxism-Leninism which is the only revolutionary theory, the correct scientific thought and the most noble ideology; it is Marxism-Leninism which alone can emancipate people from the bondage of the existing decadent and crippled capitalist society and lead them to the establishment of classless society free from all sorts of oppression and exploitation of man by man. We are fully aware that revolutionary thoughts and ideology and revolutionary theory always give birth to higher cultural, moral and ethical values of life. People cannot bring about revolution in any country unless they acquire at least a minimum standard of this high culture, morality and ethics.....

While examining the character of a party—what deserves utmost consideration apart from political aspects is to see whether that party has any programme of cultural revolution, we aspire, for the establishment of a society free from exploitation; whether the party constantly upholds before the people and their struggles this new higher cultural and ethical standard of Marxism-Leninism that has appeared as the guide to action being the only co-ordinated knowledge covering all aspects of life in every activity conducive to the growth and development of proletarian revolution—which alone can break the old mental complex and habits that still exist in society; more particularly, whether the leaders and cadres of the party, who are the vanguards of this cultural revolution, have, at the very outset, involved themselves in the struggle to apply that co-ordinated knowledge in their life and day to day activities i.e. in short, whether they are at all seriously contemplating any cultural revolution as a prelude to political revolution.....

It must be borne in mind that it is impossible to acquire the capacity to judge revolutionary theories and to correctly grasp revolution without attaining a higher cultural standard i.e. the high standard of proletarian culture and ethics.....

It is not so much important whether a party talks of great ideologies. Whether the ideal it preaches is really great is proved by whether the leaders, workers and supporters of the party reflect a high standard of ethics and culture in their personal life, day to day behaviour and political conduct.....

Those leaders and cadres of the party who will bring about cultural revolution can never succeed if they themselves fall victim to bourgeois culture, in their personal life, habits, attitude, outlook and day to day behaviour even if they mouth so-called revolutionary slogans and vocabularies. Simply mouthing slogans can they lead revolution? Has it ever been possible? But there are some leaders who hold—'If the theory of revolution is correct, if the determination of the phase of revolution is correct, then the party is correct and naturally with such a party at the helm, revolution is bound to be successful.' These leaders, in reality, want to avoid the great responsibility of accom-

plishing the all-embracing cultural revolution which precedes, being conducive to, each and every political revolution. Such an attitude smacks of complete negation of the urgent necessity of changing the leaders and cadres—changing their outlook, attitude, habits, traits, behaviour, and culture in their personal life according to Marxist-Leninist understanding through a painstaking struggle which these leaders want to avoid. But Lenin taught us: "Cultural revolution precedes technical revolution"—meaning thereby that the technical revolution i.e. the seizure of state power cannot take place unless there has been cultural revolution prior to it. So a genuine Marxist-Leninist does realise that revolution cannot be successful in any country without proper integration of socio-political-economic and cultural programmes.....

(But) what the so-called revolutionary parties teach and practise in our country in the name of Marxism-Leninism is anything but Marxism-Leninism. The inner kernel, the living soul of any lofty ideal, any philosophy, or any worthy ideology of any era lies in its culture. The root cause of the trouble of these sham Marxists parties lies in their complete failure to grasp the truth that the real essence and the living soul of Marxism-Leninism lies in acquiring the proletarian ethics and culture which is far higher and nobler than even the highest standard of humanist ethics, morality and culture that the bourgeois revolution could even produce. In the hands of these parties Marxism-Leninism has become lifeless. Existence and growing influence of these so-called Marxist-Leninist parties in social life are causing incalculable harm to the society and the revolutionary movement of the people.

The correct realisation of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao-Tse tung would tell us that none can grasp Marxism-Leninism unless he is able to acquire a high cultural standard i.e. proletarian cultural standard. Those who hold—"if the theory of revolution of the party is correct, then the party is correct" very easily forget that with relatively low cultural standard it is impossible for them also to have a correct appraisal of theory of revolution. One of the main reasons, the repeated mistakes committed by the so-called Marxist-Leninist parties in ascertaining the base political line, the stage of Indian revolution and the tactical questions confronting the revolutionary mass movements should be traced to this low cultural standard of the leaders of these so-called Marxist-Leninist parties.....

The revolutionary party of the proletariat is the instrument to fulfil the socio-economic-political-cultural aspiration or in short the all round class aspirations of the working class. It is for this reason that Lenin characterised a communist party as "the vanguard detachment of the proletariat". So the leaders of the revolutionary party of the proletariat represent the cream of proletarian culture. They should, always reflect proletarian class outlook and proletarian culture—be it in

their personal life or while conducting mass struggles. Now what is the essence of this proletarian class culture? The essence of proletarian culture is to be found in the fact that whoever has attained this culture is really free from property sense. Now to become free from property sense means that his cultural-ethical concepts, and day to day behaviour are also free from private property mental complex i.e. free from the influence of the thought process of bourgeois individualism and individualist mental make-up. That is why Marx once observed "communism is humanism minus private property". The main struggle for anybody to become a communist revolutionary is the struggle to surrender to the revolutionary party his own self and interest voluntarily, unconditionally and happily in the interest of working class, revolution and revolutionary party for attaining a high cultural-ethical standard through grasping of revolutionary politics by directly participating, first of all, in the revolutionary struggles of the exploited masses. This surrendering of self interest to the cause of revolution by a revolutionary is distinctly different from what bourgeois sense of "sacrifice" usually connotes—"giving up of ones wealth, property, car, house, entire possession in the interest of the country". If this is influenced by bourgeois sense of sacrifice then it is bound to give birth to ego-centrism, vile individualism and inflated ego which will ultimately pose a great hurdle in the process of becoming a Communist. Remember, beginning of this struggle means, the beginning to acquire communist consciousness and achieving success in this struggle means to acquire the ability of a real communist....

We must realise that revolutionary ideology is not an ideology of sacrifice. As far as we, the revolutionaries, are concerned, we have sacrificed nothing. We have accepted the most noble and glorious life of revolutionaries of today by giving up what may be called an ordinary, petty and dirty life. Because we know—we can never attain the life of a revolutionary without giving up that petty and dirty life. This is why this "giving up" has nothing to do with sacrifice—at least not to the genuine revolutionaries. There is another aspect; we must understand that to be scantily dressed or to dwell in huts can never be the ideal of proletarian life. All these are there in their life as the concomitant evil of capitalist exploitation. Due to extreme economic pauperisation being pressed with the grinding wheel of the capitalist state machine on the one hand, and the influence of bourgeois culture in their life and lack of education, illiteracy etc. on the other the mode of livelihood of the workers and the cultural and ethical standard they reflect are anything but proletarian revolutionary culture. The culture they represent only shows the utterly deplorable state in which they have been forced to live. In their struggle to overthrow capitalist-system for a better living, noble life based on higher ideals, culture, ethics and moral lies their emancipation. Then what for, what is the utility of going to the workers in ragged dress as a show of sacrifice?

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## ON COMMUNIST CULTURE

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If better dress is not available, then go to the workers with what you can afford. But if you have better sets of dress sufficient in number then why should you take recourse to pretention by not using those dresses, rather concealing them? The widespread practice of this type of concealment and pretention has created in mass mind an absolutely false notion about the leaders. They do not take the trouble of going into these questions critically. But a leader who has no personal belonging, no private property, who has given up everything in the interest of struggle for emancipation, if such a leader puts on a suit presented to him by a well-wisher of the party even if he wears that particular set throughout the entire winter—still then they would take that leader for a big "Baboo", a rich man with enough of property and wealth! Simply because of the so-called "cult of sacrifice" and pretentious behaviour of our national leaders, particularly the Gandhites, a peculiar impression has gained currency in mass mind that if the leaders put on good dresses, if they use car even at times of real necessity—then they no longer remain leaders, they do not love their country or people any more and so all hope is gone! Such a notion, such an impression has made deep in road in mass mind. And again there are some leaders in our country who consider all this as prejudice, who do not even bother about whether the party or the people is in a position to afford, try to justify their lavish life citing the examples of Marx and Engels.

None of these reflects correct revolutionary consciousness. How does a real revolutionary approach these questions? Anything concerning him, his good or bad, his future, his needs everything he submits voluntarily and happily, to the party and the people. He accepts, ungrudgingly, voluntarily, happily and with peace in mind any standard of livelihood that the party can afford. He never bothers about all this. If the party cannot provide him meals then he will have to starve if he fails to secure it from the people either. He is a real revolutionary who can face such a situation happily and without any grievance.

If on the other hand the party is in a position to afford a better standard of life, good dress, better meal and even a car for necessary use—this should not develop in him any attachment, any hankering after all these. He should not fall a victim to a lavish living. So that, if need be, he can at once give up everything without any reservation. It means that as lack of comfort will not create any sense of privation, so also he will not run after comfort even when easily available. This is the mental make up of a revolutionary, the only correct approach of a revolutionary to all such questions.....

Do we become communists, the very moment we accept Marxism-Leninism as the philosophy of our life? No; Lenin observed, "thereby we simply express our desire to be a communist".....

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## On International Communist Movement

"We like to reiterate here only that aspect of the observation made by the Central Committee of our Party on the Report of the 20th Congress of the CPSU to which we drew the attention of all the Communists abroad. There we showed that, while pointing out and fighting against the errors and mistakes of Stalin and in the name of upholding Leninism they interpreted the Leninist concept of "different forms of achievement of socialism" virtually from the stand point of reformist nationalist outlook. **It is not unlikely for a Communist Party to be influenced by this reformist nationalist trend of thinking and outlook.**

"And we shall not be at all surprised if these Communist parties, as an opposite reaction to the present practice of dittoing, develop in them an "ultra-independent" and extreme trend of opposing whatever comes from the CPSU, on some pretext or other....

"None of the short-cut methods of either dittoing or blindly opposing the Soviet leadership, can save the Communist parties from the impasse that has developed in their mutual relationship. **The influence of ultra-nationalism or Titoism which manifests itself in the present trend of anti-Sovietism is nothing but the opposite reaction of blind authoritarianism.** If we, the communists, fail collectively, when still there is time, to hold aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism freeing Communist process of thinking and movement from **blind authoritarianism and reformist nationalist outlook** by conducting intense ideological struggles then there is no doubt that the mutual relationship and understanding that we still possess amongst us, will further deteriorate".

—On Recent Incidents In Hungary, published in 'Ganadabi' on 15th November, 1956.

## His Vision guides our task for the future

We are to bring home to the people: You need unity for two things—unity, to strengthen your organisation and to strengthen your movement you do also require unity. Not only this, you require unity to bring clarity in revolutionary politics in order to free yourselves from the influence of fake politics, in order to free the society from its influence. And for that you want a platform of action, you need unity. But this cannot be at the cost of principle, nor can it be by renouncing struggle—unity must give recognition to the necessity of ideological struggle. Those who say that ideological struggle within the unity is opposed to unity do ultimately wreck the unity. Ideology and principle cannot be compromised for the sake of united struggle. No, never. No unity can ever sustain if it is at the sacrifice of ideology or principle. If it is so done, it can mean only one thing. It means licking somebody's boot; otherwise unity presupposes struggle—we are to hold out this truth to the people. By bringing home this truth to the people, we are to take up individual and collective initiative with clarity in our political vision for developing living links with the oppressed masses, in order to bring forth people's own instrument of struggle through which alone can emerge people's political power. If you can achieve all this, then none can resist the revolution, none can reverse the immutable law of history—your dream of revolution will surely come to reality.

[Free translation from the speech of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh—at the Delegates Session, Durgapur Steel Worker's Co-ordination Committee, Durgapur, 18th March '74].

# Remembering Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

## To Build up alternate political power of the people should be the objective of democratic mass movement

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of cultivation, either without knowing its implication in the present-day backward capitalist economic system or deliberately committing this sin in the interest of protecting this reactionary and moribund capitalist system as long as possible.

The very same thing is found in the programme of the BLD also—although used in different term 'Laghu uddyog'. These people in utter disregard to the law of development of production are advocating in favour of giving more stress on small enterprises. In their programme, they declared that they would develop numbers of small and light industries in the villages and thereby strengthen agricultural economy through small farming.

The Congress has..... discarded the idea of introduction of tractors and machines on a large scale and in the name of helping the small and middle peasants is actually hatching the conspiracy of keeping and maintaining the existing small-peasant economy as long as possible with the sole purpose of arresting the maximum number of rural population in a half-fed and half-clad condition in the land economy.

.....They (the CPI and CPM) are also, like the Congress, opposed to the introduction of machines and tractors in our agriculture. In fact the CPI(M) in their programme have declared that they will oppose any move for introduction of machines and tractors in our agriculture. One wonders if they are really so simple not to understand that in order to keep up their face as 'real friend' of the share croppers, poor peasants and agricultural labourers, they are actually moving in tune with the ruling bourgeoisie so as to protect and prolong the crisis-ridden capitalist economy of our country

from the imminent threat of collapse posed by the unprecedented rate of growth of the unemployed in the rural life.

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Therefore, to lead these day to day struggles of the masses against the main enemy to the revolutionary goal, struggle and conflict between the revolutionary political line and the social democratic lines of the other political parties in the united movement becomes inevitable and indispensable.

....Our Party says that the Indian state is a capitalist state and hence our present stage of revolution is anti-capitalist socialist Revolution.....

Those who talk of People's Democratic Revolution, in our Country today, are shutting their eyes to reality of the capitalist productive system and the capitalist state machine that is guarding it in our country. They stubbornly refuse to take cognition of this reality. Knowingly or unknowingly, they have slipped to modern revisionism or bourgeois national reformism.

...The programme of People's Democratic Revolution in our Country, today, is therefore nothing but a variant of neo-revisionist or bourgeois nationalist reformist programmes aiming at prolonging the capitalist exploitation and the capitalist state machine.

.....A bare analysis of this programme of Peoples' Democratic Revolution will reveal that behind the smoke-screen of so-called revolutionary vocabularies, it is nothing other than a programme of bourgeois reforms after coming to governmental power through elections. That is to say, within the span of bourgeois parliamentary politics, within this bourgeois frame work, if the party that propagates this programme, can form a government of its own

through election then that government will be termed a Peoples' Democratic government (I). This government by bringing certain reforms in the state structure will 'convert' it into People's Democratic State and thus transition to Socialism will be achieved peacefully and slowly!! But what all this has got to do with the revolution, meaning, the revolutionary transformation of the State and society?

.....In order to accomplish modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture and uninterrupted industrial development—the most important tasks ahead—we will have to free our production from the capitalist relations and motive force of production, from the tentacles and grips of capitalist exploitation and expropriation. But how can this be done? Is it that the capitalist system is continuing in force simply on the strength of its economic laws? Surely not. It could not last long even for a day against the anger of the people if it was not protected by a modern state machine. But what do we mean by the state machine? The state and the government are not one and the same thing. There are three principal organs of a modern state machine, viz. the army, the bureaucratic administrative system along with the police and the judiciary. These are the three permanent organs of a modern state. These organs do not change along with the change of government, no matter, whether the government is changed either by election or through a adjustment between different parties or by a military coup. The state is to be considered almost like a machine—the government's position here is just like an operator or a care-taker of that machine .....It is a class instrument of coercion.

The modern state

machine has its own characteristic features and its tuning and make-up is such that all its three organs always function as a composite whole and a consolidated one and each of them is designed to serve the political purpose of a definite class. The operator of a machine can not perform any other work by that machine other than the work for which the machine was solely designed.

.....Similarly the government, the operator, with all the efficiency and skill at its command, with a capitalist state machine cannot do, in the main, anything else other than coercing the people in the interest of capitalist exploitation. It makes fundamentally no difference whether the coercion and exploitation are made in a cruel, in a crude, in a blunt way or they are done in subtle and cunning way with sweet coating, or by applying some balm to make the pains of coercion and exploiting endurable.....

A careful study of history will undoubtedly reveal that in the capitalist countries not merely one or two parties, but a good many parties did take the cover of 'socialism' to deceive the people. However much loudly they might have advocated for socialism or whatever might have been their experiments on their pet and fanciful formulae of socialism, these parties, which never tried to overthrow capitalist state machine by means of revolution and thereby free production from the grips and tentacles of capitalist exploitation and expropriation, in reality, in each and every case, did help consolidate and strengthen capitalism and ultimately prepared the ground for fascism, notwithstanding their loud clamouring and most

vague and deceitful slogans of socialism....

Such theories and formulae nowhere could establish socialism. Wherever socialism was established, it had to be accomplished through revolution by smashing capitalist state machine and by freeing production from the capitalist motive force of earning maximum profit.

Social-democratic parties, renouncing the path of proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary kernel of Communism have donned the cloak of 'National Socialism' or 'National Communism' and thereby made their break final with the mainstream of the revolutionary proletarian movement...

The social-democratic parties, from their more intimate connection with people's revolutionary thoughts, ideas and movements know better than the ordinary bourgeois democrats, the inherent weaknesses of bourgeois democracy. They are quite aware that mere brow-beating and use of coercive instruments will not do to stem the tide of growing revolutionary consciousness and ferment in people's revolutionary struggles which will sweep clear the bourgeois state machine tottering at its last leg of defence.

So, putting on the mask of 'Socialism' or sometimes 'Communism' these social democratic parties come forward to the rescue of the bourgeoisie and their state machine by urging them to 'reconstruct' the bourgeois democracies with deceptive slogans and so forth. Peaceful attainment of socialism through bourgeois parliament and keeping intact the bourgeois state-machine.

'National Jingoism', 'Social Peace', 'Democratic Socialism' or 'Peaceful Communism' become thus the claptraps of the social democratic radical bourgeois and petty bourgeois

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# REMEMBERING COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

**Strengthen SUCI that alone provides revolutionary leadership, the noble ideology of communism and a correct base political line**

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politicians to dupe the masses in the context of ever-mounting crisis of capitalism, today..... From the political angularity and purpose, Hitler's slogan of 'National Socialism' had no fundamental difference with all this.....

In our time, those communist parties within the international communist movement who have already degenerated to revisionist parties and reduced themselves to the position of national communist parties (or in other words, who are communist in name only but Social-Democratic party in practice) do have every possibility of turning themselves into fascist parties, if these parties while waving the red banner and moving under the cover of Marxism can combine blindness and fanaticism with their so-called militant character. In this connection, it should be remembered that militancy born out of revolutionary ideology is not one and the same with the so-called militancy generated by fanaticism, blindness and superstition. They are qualitatively different.....

(So)....we are to bear in mind that it is not that our enemy, the bourgeois class makes always a frontal attack on the mass movements. No, they also take other means like planting their agents within the mass movements. These agents of the enemy class give the 'show' of movements on the burning issues of the people and overdo in displaying so-called militancy as if to outbid the militancy of the genuine revolutionaries. But they, at the same time, maintain 'dialogue', their link with the enemy class and if and when necessary, drive wedge, bring rift within the united mass struggles. In this way, these political parties and forces work against the real goal and objective of the mass movements, as agents of the enemy class.

Besides, these parties who act as agents of the enemy class within the working class movement, on some plea or excuses, obstruct the process of formation of people's committees through united democratic mass movements, as concrete expression of the struggling unity of the oppressed people, from the lowest to the highest level. These people's committees are the oppressed people's own instruments of struggle capable of giving birth to the political power of the people, alternate to present capitalist state and this is essential precondition for the overthrow of the exploitative capitalist state machine.

Instead, the sole concern of these parties is anyhow to inflate their party strength and delude the masses by holding that this so-called increase in strength and influence is the 'alternate' power of the masses. They also hold that unity or understanding reached at the top between the leaders of these parties in opposition to the ruling party, is the unity of the masses and pass it for people's 'struggling unity within a front' !.....

These revisionist parties are also giving silent burial to revolutionary trade union movement by spreading various kinds of illusions and confusions among the workers and the people in general with the object of confining the trade union movement within the narrow bounds of legalism and economism.... Not only this, the revisionism of this brand, in our country has possibly surpassed all other variants in different countries in shamelessness and treachery. They have the cheek to boastfully claim that they have been able to secure economic gains for the workers from the employer class without waging any struggle.

.....These wretched lot of revisionists would have us to believe that without struggle against the

employer class—the capitalists, the exploiters, there may be intensification of class struggle of the exploited—the working class, even their 'emancipation', the 'revolution', if you like. True, shamelessness and treachery have no limit for these creatures, the revisionists.

The poisonous weed of economism-reformism has struck deep root in the trade union movement of our country. It has permeated through and through the movement so much so that the ordinary workers have fallen victim to this poison of opportunist mental make-up. They are in search of that type of 'leaders' who are in reality the agents or middlemen of the management and the government. Even the workers know this. Yet they seek the 'service' of these 'middlemen' just as a sort of deal! What can be more tragic? If this be their attitude how can they change their lot? Even what they say, 'their god' cannot change their lot.

....Can this opportunism of the worker, simply because he is a worker, be justified? No. The worker starves but that can not be a justification for his opportunism. The capitalist expropriates him and for this his opportunism may be worse but nonetheless the worker, because he starves, can never justify his opportunism. So, in the very class-interest of the proletariat and for achieving the revolutionary goal and objectives, the workers will have to free themselves from, will have to hate this vicious trend of economism-reformism. Trade unions, then can truly become the 'school of communism' as Marx visualised.

These political forces, are therefore, of the worst kind, the most crafty of the social-democratic forces who, according to the definition of political economy, are "compromising force between labour and

capital" within the working class movement. From their outward gestures and utterances, it is not so easy for the common masses to know their real character. And so without a thorough exposure of the treacherous and anti-revolutionary political aim and objectives of these forces within the working class movement, without isolating these forces thoroughly from the oppressed people, politically organisationally, it is simply not possible to give birth to alternate political power of the people.....

Besides revisionism, there is also another trend in the mass movement which holds that there is no need of preparation for the revolution; it can just be started. They negate the requirement of alternate political power and organisation of the oppressed masses to grow and develop in adequate measure through the conduction of painstaking ideological political struggles as an essential precondition to revolution.

True, there are good many among those who think on this line, are honest and have dedication. But even then, because of their ignorance about the science of revolution, they, by their acts and line of thinking, may be unintentionally, do positive harm and create obstructions in the process of revolutionary preparations. They strike the state power untimely, before peoples political power and own instruments of struggle have developed in adequate measure for a revolutionary uprising. And thus they alert the enemy before hand and allow it time to strengthen and consolidate its position against the revolutionary upsurge of the masses.

The confusion of this trend of thinking boils down to a vital question. True, it is the revolutionary party that leads a revolution. But what is missed is that it is the people who ultimately decide

whether the revolution will succeed or not. So unless the alternate political power of the people grows and develops in adequate strength for the revolution no revolution can be victorious by a handful of Party workers however honest and dedicated to the cause, they may be.

Besides, it is also to be borne in mind that the growth and development of alternate political power of the people in adequate strength for the success of a revolution is not an easy task—it is definitely hard and a complex one and moreover it takes time.

In order to understand all this, constant common cult of revolutionary politics and common activities with the object of attaining high standard of political consciousness are so very important.....

Therefore, the principal crisis in mass movement to-day is the crisis of leadership.....

Out of the discontent of the workers and peasants in the society, time and again revolutionary tide will try to surge forth in waves following waves after waves. It will try to burst out—the contradiction and conflicts brewed up within the society will time and again seek to express and demand a fundamental change of this order, will fervently appeal to human conscience, will urge upon the human consciousness and demand revolution. But there will be no revolution. Again and again, the revolutionary tide will recede, will go astray. Time and again reaction will gain. Revolution will have to wait until the revolutionary party emerges with necessary strength to lead it.

Revolutionary movement of the world has provided us with the all-important lesson that for the revolution to be victorious three things are essential—(1) a genuine revolutionary ideology and line, (2) a genuine revolutionary party, that is, the party that alone can provide revolutionary leadership and (3) revolutionary alliance of the toiling people in a united front of

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## ON COMMUNIST CULTURE

(Contd. from Page 5)

We must remember that the sense of values, morals, ethics, sense of duty, responsibility etc. of the present society that still guide us today in every walks of life are nothing but bourgeois sense of values. It is only through a constant, conscious, correct struggle based on proletarian class outlook, which we call Dialectical Materialist outlook, for the attainment of communist ethical and moral values in place of the existing bourgeois sense of moral values, that we can develop ourselves as communists. This struggle should take a living form at every moment inside the party and along with it a struggle must be developed outside for ideological and cultural revolution to create the cultural base of the people conducive to our revolution.....

None can even become a communist without voluntarily submitting to the ceaseless struggle going on inside the party to become communists and consciously conducting and actively taking part in those struggles.....

In the process of becoming communists those belonging to middle class must give up their middle class mental make up petty-bourgeois vacillations, habits, practices, behaviour and above all their self-centred, individualistic thought process. Similarly, the workers must give up their rustic habits i.e. their old feudal superstitions and must free themselves from bourgeois base culture and vulgar individualism.....

.....Those among the workers who have been completely cut off from the old social relationship are, in a sense, most revolutionary. But even then they are the worst victim of the most rotten culture of the present day bourgeois society i.e. aimless desparateness born out of vulgar individualism—aimless because it is blind in nature. The given phenomenon of individualism which gives a different look among the educated, enlightened or so-called elites of the society because of the polish or cover of education—that very same phenomenon minus education takes the look of vulgar individualism, the influence of which we find very much among this section of the workers. As a result, those among the workers who seem to be most advanced, most revolutionary in view of their class position—if they cannot free themselves from the mental complex of bourgeois vulgar individualism and develop in them a sense of obligation to the collective and society and a sense of collective responsibility, if they cannot be raised to acquire communist consciousness then they cannot also become communists. They too will have to acquire communist character.....

We must always remember that the struggle to become a communist is a hard and arduous struggle. Revolutionary politics is of course all-embracing in nature which grows and develops out of proper integration

of political, economic, social and cultural movements, once this integration is achieved it is then and then only that the proletarian revolutionary movement can be correctly led. Otherwise, despite repeated and militant struggles, despite all sacrifice the instruments of struggles, peoples' own revolutionary organisations i.e. the political power of the workers and peasants, political power of the people will not ultimately emerge. Therefore, not to speak of the leaders, even the cadres of proletarian revolutionary movements will have to involve themselves, in the process of organising revolutionary mass movements, in struggles covering all aspects of life. It is an all out struggle covering all aspects of life starting from private to politico-economic and socio-cultural life—from even sex to love....

To the revolutionary cadres, to the workers who want to learn Marxism-Leninism, my appeal—learn Marxism-Leninism the only revolutionary theory of the day, from those who are trying to conduct or conducting or have been successful to conduct their personal life in accordance with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Don't go to learn Marxism-

## Remembering Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

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struggle. Until and unless these three conditions are fulfilled, revolution remains a distant dream.

In our country, SUCI is such a party that alone can provide genuine revolutionary leadership, ideology and line. By strengthening this party politically organisationally alone the toiling people can hope to come out of this crisis-ridden capitalist setup, can hope to tide over the crisis in their onward march to victory.

[Free translation from the extracts of speeches and writing of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

### Speeches

- (1) 24th April, 1975
- (2) 24th April, 1973
- (3) On the Problems confronting Mass Movement (Bengali)—24th June 1975.
- (4) Why SUCI is the only Communist Party in Indian soil (Bengali), 1966
- (5) Present Situation, United Front Politics & Our Task (Bengali)
- (6) At the Engineering Workers' Conference, Calcutta (Bengali)—14th May '67
- (7) An article published in May Day Special (writing) 'Ganadabi'—May, 1949]

## Programme on the Occasion of 5th August the "Memorial Day" of the Great Leader of the Proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

The Central Committee of our Party, SUCI has called upon all the party units and the people to observe 5th August as the 'Memorial Day' with dignity and solemnity to pay tribute to the Great Leader of the Proletariat, one of the great Marxist thinkers of our age, our beloved leader, teacher, guide and the founder General Secretary of our Party, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** by recalling and making constant cult of His great teachings and thoughts.

On this solemn occasion, the West Bengal State committee has taken among other's two important programmes.

It has arranged for a Quotation Exhibition to highlight the great revolutionary teachings and thoughts of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. It will be held on 3rd, 4th & 6th to 9th August 77 at Calcutta Information Centre and will remain open from 6 P.M. to 8 P.M. on 3rd August and from 2 P.M. to 8 P.M. on other days. The exhibition will be opened by Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of our Party, on 3rd August 1977, at 6 P.M.

A mass Meeting in memory of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** will be held at the Saheed Minar Maidan Calcutta, on 5th August. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the Party will be the main Speaker and Comrade Pritish Chanda will preside.

The party calls upon the people to make the programmes a grand success.

Leninism from those who are still victims of bourgeois ethics, culture, habits and practices in their personal life. Because what they teach in the name of revolution, in the name of Marxism-Leninism is anything but Marxism-Leninism.....

I would again appeal to you all—learn you must Marxism-Leninism, grasp you must revolution but learn it from those leaders, from that party whose leaders and cadres lead the life of a revolutionary.

[Free translation from His works].

### CORRECTION

In our last issue, Vol. 10, No. 18, July 15, '77, the column 'Teachings of Lenin' should be read, as "Teachings of Lenin and Stalin". Deputation to the West Bengal Chief Minister by our West Bengal State Committee was on July 7, 77. The date was omitted. The issues of June 3rd and 11th carried, the wrong volume number 11 instead of being 10. The mistakes are regretted.

—Ed. Board, Proletarian Era.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE